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Santiago's Sinister Hand: Hybrid Identity in the Statue of Saint James the Greater at Santa Marta de Tera¹

By John Kitchen Moore, Jr., University of Alabama at Birmingham

Sculptural representations of James the Greater in the Middle Ages usually depict him as an Apostle, a Pilgrim, and as Slayer of Moors; all of which appeared to compete with each other over time. More recently the two most seemingly incompatible depictions of the saint, as an iconic pilgrim and as a warrior knight, have been shown to co-exist on a spectrum, with instances of overlapping roles.² James may have defended pilgrims traveling to his shrine, for example, while his conscripted patronage of the Spanish military class helped justify their role in assuring the safety of the pilgrimage route.

¹ No individual has influenced this essay more than George Greenia, whose generous suggestions have nuanced my thinking in important ways and whose inimitable style has given voice to several passages in these pages. I also would like to extend my gratitude to the two anonymous readers for their insightful and thorough comments, which proved invaluable in reshaping the final version of this article, as well as to Editor Sarah Blick for her evenhanded guidance throughout the process toward publication. I additionally thank my colleague Flowers Braswell, who posed a question years ago that inspired the subject of the current essay. Others who have offered useful advice at various stages include Laura Fernández, Nichole Lariscy, Tom Spaccarelli, Rosa Vázquez, and still others too numerous to list here. Finally, I would like to thank the University of Alabama at Birmingham, the College of Arts and Sciences, and the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures for a sabbatical and for a Dean's Grant, both of which afforded me the necessary time and resources to complete my research.

² John K. Moore, Jr., "Juxtaposing James the Greater: Interpreting the Interstices of Santiago as Peregrino and Matamoros," *La corónica* 36/2 (Spring 2008): 313-344; Stephen B. Raulston, "The Harmony of Staff and Sword: How Medieval Thinkers Saw Santiago Peregrino and Matamoros," *La corónica* 36/2 (Spring 2008): 345-368.

Another set of confluences in Santiago's imagery can be found in his manifestations as just one of the apostles, with the pilgrimage attributes (short cape, staff, brimmed hat, traveler's bag, scallop shell) layered on top of his evangelical ones (postures for preaching, the canonical book of sacred Christian writ). Perhaps the most noteworthy case of convergence between these last two types is in the iconic sandstone sculpture of the saint outside the church of Santa Marta de Tera in rural Zamora province in northwest Spain. **(fig. 1)** This essay will examine the multiple strands of meaning evoked by this complex and striking figure. After first considering this James statue alongside that by Master Mateo in the Pórtico de la Gloria in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, the article will address the image's iconographic context. The study then will analyze the story of James as the original evangelizer of Spain in connection to this sculpture and subsequently will address the history of the church of Santa Marta de Tera in relation to the statue. To conclude, this essay will resolve the function of this figure of Santiago.

The sculpture at Tera reflects what was written in the *Book of Saint James*, or *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. It combines the saint's key role as a preacher, as in the *Veneranda dies* sermon (I.17) which repeatedly praised the sermonizing of this saint, with the pilgrim and the intrinsic meaning of his attributes: staff, pouch, and scallop. Both James's preaching and the figurative meaning of his pilgrimage accessories worked as an antidote to vice, corruption, and damnation. Santiago's left hand—his sinister hand—holds the interpretive key, so to speak, since it can be understood in the same fluid terms as the saint's hybrid identities: as giving a sermon in one sense, and as warding off peril in another, especially given the "sinister" connotations associated with the hand making the gesture. Combining these two meanings, James is perhaps best seen here as preaching a



Figure 1 St. James as Pilgrim and Apostle (c. 1125-1150). Santa Marta de Tera Parish Church, south portal, Zamora Province of Castilla y León, Spain. Photo: author

warning against the physical and spiritual dangers along the roads to Santiago: “All iniquity and fraud abounds on the routes of the saints.”³

This reading of the sculpture is informed by the dominant theory of art contemporary with the Tera icon, generated during the Gregorian Reform of the late eleventh century, which argued that images must do more than just tell a story: they should provide scriptural teachings to the illiterate on one level, and additionally ought to convey a deeper, more symbolic meaning in order to elevate the viewer to a higher moral plane. Although we *could* resort to current critical theory regarding the multifarious nature of “identity” and “hybridity” in order to get past a rigid categorization of the statue of Santiago at Tera, we don’t have to go so far: even in its own day, Romanesque “art was understood to operate in a continuous process of subjective transformation.” The elusive nature of artworks stood in contrast to the immutable character of the heavenly fatherland from which Christian pilgrims—and all Christians, for that matter—wandered in exile and to which they longed to return. The hybrid identity of the James sculpture at Tera is emblematic of the new Gregorian theory of art, and the statue’s layered meanings, in keeping with the Gregorian pattern of pilgrimage (exile/return), serve as a reminder of the celestial abode, the ultimate goal of any Christian journey.⁴

³ Thomas F. Coffey, Linda Kay Davidson, and Maryjane Dunn, eds., *The Miracles of Saint James: Translations from the Liber Sancti Jacobi* (New York: Italica Press, 1996), 41; on Santiago’s preaching: 11, 15, and 16 (three instances on the last of these pages); Klaus Herbers and Manuel Santos Noia, eds., *Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1999), on the pilgrim: 83-104, esp. 91-92; on James as a preacher: 86, 88 (four instances on the last of these pages); Latin text of quotation: 98 (fol. 87v): “Omnis iniquitas et omnis fraus habundat in sanctorum itineribus”; cf. Spanish translation, A. Moralejo, C. Torres, and J. Feo, eds., *Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, (Pontevedra: Xunta de Galicia, 1992), 188-234, esp. 204-207.

⁴ Herbert L. Kessler, “A Gregorian Reform Theory of Art?” in *Roma e la Riforma gregoriana: Tradizioni e innovazioni artistiche (XI-XII secolo)*, eds. Serena Romano and Julie Enckell Julliard (Rome: Viella, 2007), 25-48, esp. 33-37; 37; cf. James Martin, “Identity” in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, eds. David Atkinson, Peter Jackson, David Sibley, and Neil Washbourne (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 97-102; cf. Katharyne Mitchell, “Hybridity” in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key*

Dating from circa 1125-1150, the figure at Tera is possibly the first statue to depict Saint James with many of the attributes of a pilgrim: staff, pouch, even the scallop shell that is emblematic first of pilgrimage to Compostela in particular, then of pilgrimage in general. The sculpture is revelatory: the spooky, bulging eyes; the oversized hand that's not just preaching, but shouting its message; the cuffs tussled by energetic gestures frozen in stone; the yoke of his collar buttressing a neck straining as he speaks; the parted mouth showing teeth as the apostle enunciates his message. This is a James not just equipped with iconic attributes, he's overpowered by his kit. No wonder his staff is so thick: he's hanging on to it like a performer bracing himself on his stage works as he belts out his lines. Yet this is no battling bishop. His garments are thin, almost gauzy, falling into compact flounces of sheer, elegant fabric. He has the matted hair of a desert prophet, the full but fashionable beard of a court sage, and the paunch of an established authority who knows his throw weight. This is the anti-warrior, armed with his voice, speaking with his arms, head pivoted to take in his audience. The extremities of head and hands are inflated with the mighty bellowing from within. This man is on a mission, something the travel gear underscores, positioning James not on a stage but in motion across a landmass he intends to make echo.

The presence of these features has led one scholar to describe the image as entirely different from the apostolic and pontifical images of the Saint being promoted in Santiago roughly during the same period, such as that of the Pórtico de la Gloria in the Cathedral of Compostela (c. 1168-1188), wherein he is shown in priestly attire, including

Concepts, eds. David Atkinson, Peter Jackson, David Sibley, and Neil Washbourne (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 188-92; cf. Thomas D. Spaccarelli, *A Medieval Pilgrim's Companion: Reassessing El libro de los huéspedes (Escorial MS h.I.13)*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Department of Romance Languages, 1998), 29-30.

the T-shaped staff symbolic of his apostolic mission, and is seated on his throne.⁵ (fig. 2)

Rather, it would be more accurate to state that the two images exist on a spectrum, serving complementary purposes for the same audience, but at different points in their experience. After all, Master Mateo's figure announces, at the entrance to the sanctuary, the presence of the relics of James within.

Master Mateo's St. James presides. He provides the "face" for the cathedral's meaning, literalizing the original ownership of the bones hardly anyone got to see—and in a way, made seeing them unnecessary. He is hieratic, elevated, meeting no one's gaze except God's. He holds his attributes with a light touch because they are icons and not serviceable tools. The scroll is too small to contain anything substantive, the staff a dainty symbol of someone already in charge. Most of all he's silent, calm, immobilized by the column against his back. The physical space that's *unused* beyond him is just as important as his figure because the viewer is required to contemplate this James with infinite shadows receding into the background. In a world of arenas and stadium seating, we can forget how dizzying it was to enter a medieval cathedral, the most voluminous interior space in that world, the only habitable environment that could echo or allow human beings to vanish from their companions' sight without exiting the room. It was persuasively big enough to contain the people of God, practically all of them, if not on the floor then in the galleries and even greater spans of air where the souls of dead saints and dead sinners transacted the economy of salvation whose coin was minted on the altar. It's James who presides over this industrious village within, most of it as silent as he is.

⁵ Fernando Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera: monasterio e iglesia, abadía y palacio* (Benavente, Spain: Centro de Estudios Benaventanos "Ledo del Pozo," 2005), 77-78.



Figure 2 The Enthroned Apostle Santiago (c. 1168-1188). Detail of the Pórtico de la Gloria column, interior of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Spain. Designed by Maestro Mateo. Photo: author.

He does not need to preach in Santiago: stone and space and ethereal silence do that for him.

There is a difference between this “epicenter James” in Santiago and his distant cousin in Zamora province. The latter is still working his way there, urging others on, earning his eventual enthronement by the sweat of his brow and the dedicated energies of his preaching. He is geographically marginalized; we presume that this hefty statue was not carried in from elsewhere, but was a local product responding to local tastes, even if the carving talent was brought in. Santa Marta de Tera was never on a main feeder route to Galicia,⁶ which means his appearance there is a testimony to the penetrating “buzz” Jacobean pilgrimage was making deep in the hinterlands of Iberia. He may prefigure the presider at the final shrine site, but in Zamora he’s still the apostolic shepherd guiding his flock toward the distant tomb where, appropriately, he can then fall silent.

Santiago at Tera: An Iconographic Context

Probably the oldest statue of its kind, the Tera icon is one of the best-known figures of the Hispanic Romanesque period.⁷ Bango calls the sculpture an image of the quintessential pilgrim.⁸ Vázquez de Parga states that the *crusilla*, or scallop, on this statue’s pilgrim pouch is the “Jacobean emblem *par excellence*,”⁹ and some scholars have

⁶ The Vía de la Plata passes close by, linking Benavente with Ourense on the Ruta Mozárabe, but at the time of its creation not many pilgrims were coming up from Moorish-occupied Sevilla. In the twelfth century the Christian/Muslim frontier was about halfway between Zamora and Sevilla.

⁷ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 77.

⁸ Isidro G. Bango Torviso, *El Camino de Santiago* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1993), 16.

⁹ Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948), 1:131: “emblema jacobita por excelencia.”

read a lot into the presence of this shell. For example, Gómez Gómez interprets the scallop to designate literal pilgrimage to Santiago rather than pilgrimage more broadly conceived in his claim that this monument shows James to be the preeminent pilgrim to Compostela.¹⁰ This view seems predicated upon the interpretation of the presence of a scallop shell on Christ's person in the Emmaus relief at Silos (c. 1120) to mean that He, too, literally is being depicted as a pilgrim to Compostela,¹¹ in which case Christ clearly would be ranked first in importance among all pilgrims regardless of destination. On the Emmaus relief: "No greater homage did James and his cult ever know than that of the depiction of Christ Himself as a pilgrim to Santiago de Compostela."¹² The sculpture of Santiago in Santa Marta de Tera is seen as the prototype of the ones to follow that portray James the Greater not as just any pilgrim but specifically as "his own pilgrim,"¹³ in other words as a "pilgrim to his own shrine."¹⁴ Given the somewhat egalitarian nature of the relatively inclusive pilgrim's society, as in Victor and Edith Turner's notion of

¹⁰ Agustín Gómez Gómez, "La iconografía de los peregrinos en el arte románico," in *Monasterios y peregrinaciones en la España medieval. Actas XVIII Seminario sobre Historia del Monacato*, coord. José Ángel García de Cortázar and Ramón Teja (Aguilar de Campoo, Spain: Monasterio de Santa María la Real, 2004), 163.

¹¹ Vázquez de Parga, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 1:566. On the dating of the Silos bas-relief, see José Luis Senra, "Between Rupture and Continuity: Romanesque Sculpture at the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010): 141-167.

¹² Serafín Moralejo, "El Claustro de Silos y el arte de los caminos de peregrinación," in *El Romanico en Silos: IX centenario de la consagración de la iglesia y claustro, 1088-1988: [actas]* (Santo Domingo de Silos, Burgos, Spain: Abadía de Silos, 1990), 203-23; 204: "Ningún homenaje mayor conocieron Santiago y su culto que el de la caracterización del propio Cristo como peregrino jacobita." The translations here and in the following examples are my own unless otherwise indicated.

¹³ Gómez Gómez, "La iconografía de los peregrinos," 165: "peregrino de sí mismo."

¹⁴ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 79: "peregrino a su propio santuario."

communitas,¹⁵ such symbolism has been described as an attempt to portray in this statue Santiago's "self-effacing identification with his devotees,"¹⁶ existing as at one with his followers, as a sort of everyman figure, or at least as a first among equals, *primus inter pares*.¹⁷ James is seen as "a saint who winds up adopting the same dress and customs as his devotees, with whom he, invisible, travels, protecting them."¹⁸

These theories overlook that Santiago also is depicted to be set apart from other pilgrims. For instance, the now-worn inscription in the nimbus in the Tera sculpture once read "James the Apostle" in its entirety, denoting this figure to be an exalted member of the celestial hierarchy who is part of Christ's inner circle in the Bible.¹⁹ This inscribed nimbus might seem unnecessary. A saint does not *need* an inscribed nimbus if his attributes are clear and the other saints placed near Santiago at Tera have no such inscription. Either all the saints and apostles in the grouping are designated as such, or only those otherwise indistinguishable without one. But there's one more possibility: honoring a select figure with an inscription meant to be read aloud and turned into a

¹⁵ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 250-255.

¹⁶ William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993), 67.

¹⁷ The Turners' vision is far from universally accepted. For instance, Turner and Turner fail to account for the "status-increasing elements in the Christian world" that have to do with the pilgrimages of the Jerusalem and Santiago brotherhoods. See "Did Christian Pilgrimages Affect Social Status?" by Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus: Studies in Late-medieval Religious Life: Devotion and Pilgrimage in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 241-252; 244.

¹⁸ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 77: "un santo que acaba por adoptar el hábito y costumbre de sus devotos, que con ellos peregrina e, invisible, les protege."

¹⁹ "IACOBVS APOSTOLVS"; Although the text in the nimbus of this saint is worn, one can make out the B of IACOBVS followed by APOSTOLVS. Marta Poza Yagüe, "Recuperando el pasado. Algunas notas sobre las primeras portadas teofánicas del románico castellano-leonés (acerca del relieve conservado en Rhode Island)," in *La creación de la imagen en la Edad Media: de la herencia a la renovación*, ed. María Victoria Chico Picaza and Laura Fernández Fernández, *Anales de Historia del Arte Volumen Extraordinario* (2010): 321-323; Moore, "Juxtaposing James the Greater," 319.

powerful invocation and prayer. Even today visitors repeat *viva voce* the wall labels and especially identifier tags presented to them at high status sites. James may have gotten special textual markers on his trail to help launch prayers to him.

Even the halo by itself sets Santiago on an elevated plane above the viewer. Other nimbus inscriptions that name James the Greater can be found in the bas-reliefs of Santiago in the Miègeville Portal of the Basilica of Saint Sernin in Toulouse (c. 1110-1115) and in the Puerta de las Platerías in the Compostelan Cathedral (c. 1116-1122), identified in the latter as “James, son of Zebedee.”²¹ **(fig. 3)** In keeping with didactic intention of the Gregorian mode of Romanesque art, the Platerías relief teaches New Testament stories: first of James as one of only three core apostles who witnessed the Transfiguration of Jesus on Mount Tabor, where He was transformed into a pillar of light, an event referenced in the inscription to the left of Santiago, “Here on this mountain Jesus was seen in His glory;”²² the second in the inscription, displayed in the book James is holding, “Peace be with you,”²³ are the words Jesus spoke to His disciples after the Resurrection.²⁴ In the Tera image, the richness of James’s robe, with its elegant folds and

²¹ “IACOBVS ZEBEDEI.”

²² “HIC IN MONTE IHESVM MIRATVR GLORIFICATVM.”

²³ “PAX VOBIS”; cf. Luke 24:36.

²⁴ In fact, scholars have interpreted the scenes in the Puerta de las Platerías reliefs as a projection of Compostelan Archbishop Diego Gelmírez’s loyalty to the Gregorian reforms: Rosa Vázquez, “La ‘Translatio’ en la iconografía jacobea del siglo XII,” *Viator* 42, no. 3 (2011): 57-74 ; 65; cf. Durliat, *La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques: de Conques à Compostelle* (Mont-de-Marsan: Comité d’études sur l’histoire et l’art de la Gascogne, 1990), 341, 353, 356; figures 356, 368; cf. José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán, “Los tímpanos de la Catedral de Santiago en su contexto histórico artístico,” in *El tímpano románico: imágenes, estructuras y audiencias*, ed. Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras and José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2003), 24-46; 30-31, 34; cf. Annie Shaver-Crandell, Paula Lieber Gerson, and Alison Stones, *The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Gazetteer* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995), 40, fig. 14.



Figure 3 Saint James shown between Saint John the Evangelist (left) and Christ (right) (c. 1116-1122). Detail of the west portal spandrel in the Platerías (south transept) façade of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Photo: author.

trim, replete with fluttering laced cuffs, reinforces the idea that this saint is no average pilgrim.

Even so, Santiago's pilgrim attributes in the Tera icon—pouch, staff, shell—possess great symbolic and didactic value, as laid out in the *Veneranda dies* sermon in the *Book of Saint James*. These three requisite parts of any Compostelan pilgrim's outfit were well known by all: for instance, the statue's scallop shell and animal-skin pouch are like those sold outside the northern façade of the Compostelan cathedral, as described in the Pilgrim's Guide of the *Book of Saint James*. The sermon explains that the pouch is slender to remind pilgrims that God alone provides. That the pilgrim purse remains open represents the pilgrims' obligation to give to the poor. The sermon demonstrates that the staff is a third leg symbolizing belief in the Trinity. This instrument serves to defend against literal wolves and dogs, and also to chase away a metaphorical beast, the devil, who sets out to attack and devour the soul of many an unprepared pilgrim. The sermon then points out that the scallop shell represents the charitable actions expected of all pilgrims, especially to love God above all others and to love their neighbors as themselves.³⁰ That the shell has the shape of fingers reinforces the message since people use their hands to perform good works.³¹ These figurative meanings reveal that pilgrim attributes double as amulets of protection against the many dangers and temptations along the routes to Santiago. In this fashion, the James sculpture at Tera serves the higher purpose of art in the Gregorian mode, to guide viewers on the narrow road to salvation.

³⁰ Cf. Matthew 22:37-39; cf. Mark 12:29-31; cf. Luke 10:27.

³¹ Herbers and Santos Noia, ed., *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 91-92: the pilgrim, his attributes and their significance (I.17: *Veneranda Dies*); 252: *De paradiso urbis* (chapter in the Guide); cf. Klaus Herbers, *Der Jakobsweg. Mit einem mittelalterlichen Pilgerführer unterwegs nach Santiago de Compostela* (Tübingen, Germany: Gunter Narr Press, 1986), 64-67: staff, pouch, and scallop; 143: scallops on the market; Melczer, ed., *Pilgrim's Guide*, 56-60: staff, pouch, and shell; 122: scallops and pilgrim purses on the market.

Sculptural iconography of Saint James starts with images of him as one of the apostles group at the start of the twelfth century. There are some examples of a special kind of the saint's portrayal as a pilgrim (and one of Christ) beginning in the first half of the twelfth century. In chronological order, these sculptures include: a bas-relief of Saint James in the cloister of Moissac, France (c. 1100); a relief of Santiago in the Miègeville Portal of the Basilica of Saint Sernin in Toulouse (c. 1110-1115); a sculpture of Saint James in the Platerías façade of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (c. 1116-1122); a bas-relief of Christ as a traveler to Emmaus in the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos (c. 1120); the statue of Santiago at Santa Marta de Tera Parish Church (c. 1125-1150); the Apostle Santiago of the Pórtico de la Gloria in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Spain (c. 1168-1188); a statue of Saint James paired with John the Evangelist in the Cámara Santa of the Oviedo Cathedral (c. 1166-1199); a sculpture of Santiago in front of the Church of the Santo Sepulcro in Estella (fourteenth century); a statue of James as protector of his pilgrim in the Church of Saint Sernin in Pamplona (fourteenth century). The *Book of Saint James* dates from the first half of the twelfth century (c. 1130-1150), right around the time when pilgrim features began to be incorporated into the figure of Christ as a traveler to Emmaus in Silos and into the James statue at Tera. The *Book of Saint James* is a codification of an existing practice, and the Tera icon of Santiago is one of the earliest examples of the new James picture, roughly contemporary to the production of the *Book of Saint James*.

The statue of Saint James at Tera initiated a new type. By the late twelfth century, pilgrim attributes would be incorporated into the figure of Santiago (alongside John) in the Cámara Santa of the Cathedral of San Salvador in Oviedo. This Romanesque image

of James in Oviedo wears a pouch emblazoned with a scallop shell and in his left hand, holds an unfurling scroll. The staff in his right hand is topped with a flag and cross on one end, while James penetrates the mouth of the serpent upon which he is stepping with the other end of the crozier. **(fig. 4)** In the fourteenth century, the now-severely-damaged image of Santiago in front of the Church of the Santo Sepulcro in Estella wears a hood over his head and shoulders as protection from the elements while walking, while the statue that once stood in front of the portico of the church of Saint Sernin in Pamplona bears the omnipresent pilgrim purse with the scallop shell and depicts a pilgrim on bended knee at his feet, imploring Saint James for his intercession. **(fig. 5)** This type of representation commonly appears along the various roads to Santiago.³²

Vázquez de Parga claims that the existence of these sculptures of James shown as a pilgrim indisputably is a direct consequence of the pilgrimage to Compostela.³³ A paradoxical finding by Moralejo is that the earliest and most beautiful representations of James- and Christ-as-pilgrim (Tera, Silos, Oviedo) are removed from the main route to Compostela. He resolves the conundrum by stating that there was a need to display the iconography of pilgrimage not along the main road, but rather on the outskirts in order to announce that pilgrims could arrive to Santiago even from these removed locales.³⁴ It is in this sense that Emile Mâle (1862-1954) correlated the statue of Santiago in the Miègeville portal in Toulouse with the influx of pilgrims to Saint James, serving as a

³² Bango, *El Camino de Santiago*, 15-16; Martín Benito et al., *Los caminos de Santiago*, 47; 36. Brian and Marcus Tate, *The Pilgrim Route to Santiago*, photo. Paul Keller (Oxford: Phaidon, 1987), 67, 81; Vázquez de Parga, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 1:568.

³³ Vázquez de Parga, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 1:565.

³⁴ Moralejo, "El Claustro de Silos," 206: "también por allí se iba a Santiago."



Figure 4 Paired column statue of Saints James (left) and John the Evangelist (1166-1199). Cámara Santa, southern transept of the Oviedo Cathedral, Spain. Photo: author with permission from the Church authorities.

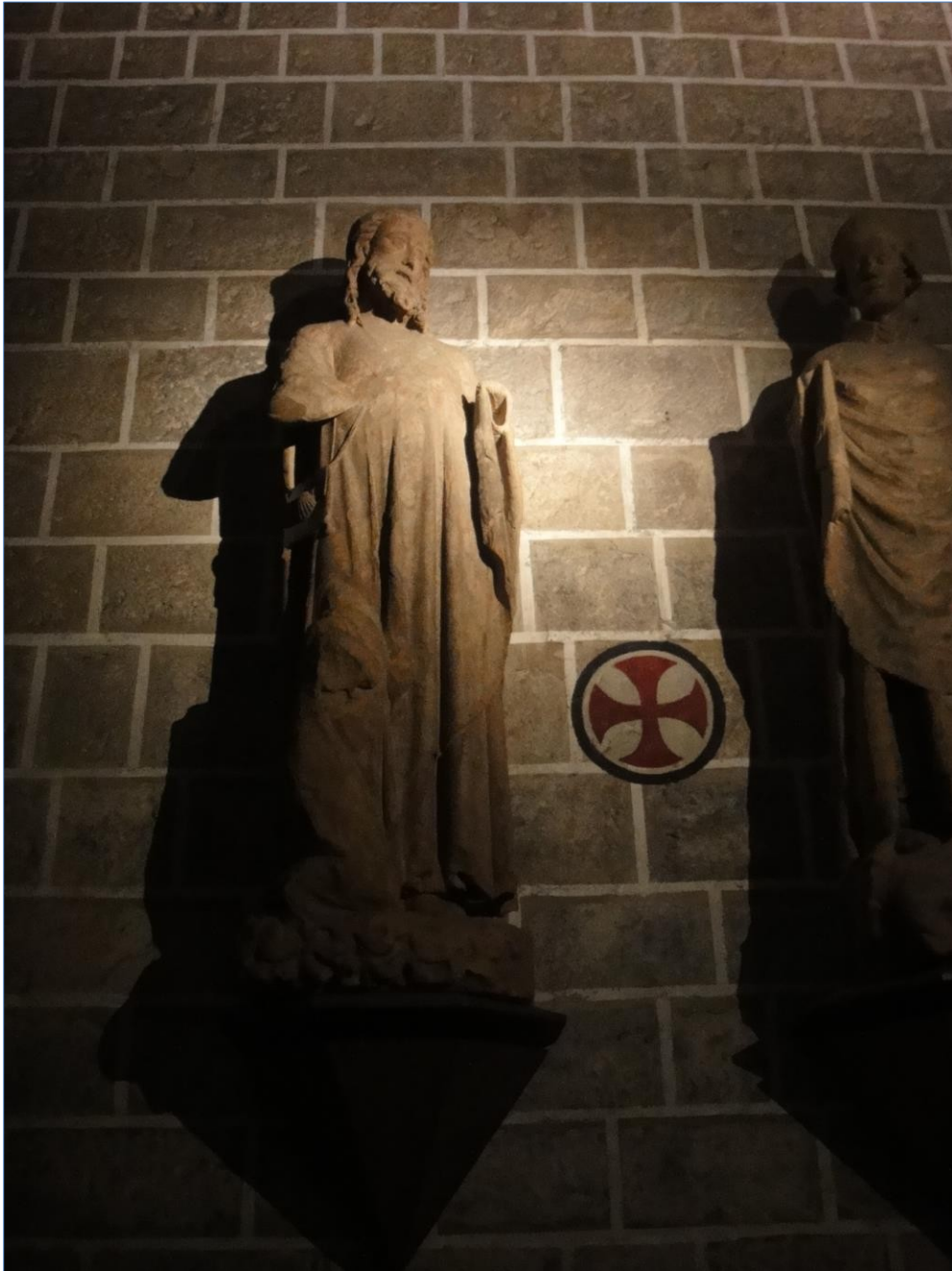


Figure 5 Original statue of James as protector of his pilgrim (fourteenth century). Interior of the Church of Saint Sernin in Pamplona, Spain. Statue substituted by a replica on the exterior façade to protect this original one from the elements. Photo: author.

reminder to these pilgrims of the distant Santiago de Compostela.³⁹ In the Tera icon, James voices with his hand and uses his voice to arm pilgrims with the spiritual protection they need to elude the devil's many traps on the journey to James the Greater's shrine.

Santiago's sinister hand, raised chest-high and showing his open palm, is symbolic in a way that runs parallel to how the Tera statue's pilgrim attributes reference good and evil: the gesture not only functions as a rhetorical sign of acclamation or speech, as in the case of Saint Paul in León and Santiago in Toulouse, but also suggests a steadfast aversion to danger. Puente describes the gesture James makes with his left hand as one of salutation or preaching.⁴⁰ Vázquez de Parga describes Santiago's attire as possessing a faint resemblance to that of a preacher: "He only lacks the typical [pilgrim's] dress – since his own possesses a vague priestly air – and the hat in order to appear as one of the later classic images [of a pilgrim]."⁴¹ In this case, the preaching saint's raised open palm most likely indicates a proclamation warding off perils. After all, the figure of James at Tera is raising his left hand, which is emblematic of wickedness not only in the Bible, but also in the Hispanic liturgy.

³⁹ Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France. Étude sur les origines de l'iconographie du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1966), 293 with reference to Fig. 40, p. 47; cf. Poza Yagüe, "Recuperando el pasado," 321-323: she resists the notion that the figure of James in Santa Marta is dressed as a pilgrim to announce that Compostela lies ahead since Saint Martha's relics were capable of attracting plenty of followers and because Santiago was one of the patrons of her church in Tera.

⁴⁰ Ricardo Puente, *La iglesia románica de Santa Marta de Tera* (León, Spain: Editorial Albanega, 2009), 49.

⁴¹ Vázquez de Parga, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 1:567-68: "Sólo le faltan la vestidura típica – pues la suya conserva un vago aire sacerdotal – y el sombrero, para ser una de las clásicas imágenes posteriores."

The left hand traditionally has been associated with evil in Classical thought, in the Bible and biblical exegesis, as well as in folklore. For instance, Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* and Plautus in *Persa* refer to the left hand as the “thieving hand.” Some Christian thinkers thought Eve must have used her left hand to pick the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil and that she had to have been created from one of Adam’s left ribs. As Charles Wright notes, “That the left or ‘sinister’ side betokens bad luck or evil is, of course, a widespread folk belief.”⁴²

This commonplace may help explain why in Catholic ceremonies the priest is instructed to hold the staff in his left hand, as in Fray Hernando de Talavera’s “Treatise on the Meaning of the Ceremonies of Mass” (c. 1480): while he associates the “staff” with Christ’s divinity, Talavera states that the toil and anguish that Christ suffered on earth are embodied in the left hand so that evil can be averted.⁴³ This also could account for why Castilian poet Gonzalo de Berceo provides instructions to hold the staff in the left hand, reserving the right hand for “much better than” golden chalices.⁴⁴

Santiago’s gesture in the Tera sculpture is both a symbol of speech and a sign of warning, especially considering the “sinister” associations with the left hand. Of course a gesture of preaching is perfectly compatible with one of aversion, for an apostle’s primary goal is to lead others to salvation by avoiding the pitfalls of damnation. The

⁴² Charles Wright, “Why the Left Hand is Longer (or Shorter) than the Right: Some Irish Analogues for an Etiological Legend in the Homiliary of St. Pere de Chartres,” in *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, eds. Virginia Blanton and Helene Scheck (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 166 and n. 24.

⁴³ Fray Hernando de Talavera, “Tractado de lo que significan las ceremonias de la misa,” ed. M. Mir in *Escritores misticos españoles*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Bailly/Bailliere, 1911), 45: “manipulo.”

⁴⁴ Anthony Lappin, ed., *Berceo’s Vida de Santa Oria: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre University of Oxford, 2000), 56-57; “muy mejores.”

layered meanings of Santiago's sinister hand reflect his hybrid identity in the Tera sculpture and the multiple roles the saint performs, including and especially preaching.

Story of James, Evangelizer of Spain, in Relation to the Tera Icon

Legend has it that James the Greater traveled to Spain to preach the Gospel between the Resurrection and James's beheading at the hands of Herod Agrippa in 44 AD. This tale was initially promoted in the liturgical tradition beginning in the seventh century and became so widespread in ceremonial and devotional texts from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries that during this period it would have been hard to find an educated Spaniard, or even a European who was not aware of one of the variants of this story.⁴⁵ This is not to suggest that this notion was as firmly fixed in the historiographical tradition until much later. For instance, in contrast to the description of the "proposition ... that St. James preached the gospel in Spain" as "central" to the twelfth-century *Historia Compostellana*, Emma Falque Rey, in the first-ever *critical* edition of the text notes that the *Historia Compostellana* "says nothing about the topic."⁴⁶ In fact, historiographers did not actively and systematically promote the idea of James having evangelized Spain until the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ The Spanish church, on the other hand, had its own ideas that it

⁴⁵ Katherine von Liere, "The Missionary and the Moorslayer: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales," *Viator* 37 (2006): 521-522.

⁴⁶ On this and the whole history of the James legend, see Jan van Herwaarden's "The Origins of the Cult of Saint James of Compostela" in *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 311-354, esp. 317-320 and 354. Richard Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 53; cf. Emma Falque Rey, ed., *Historia Compostellana* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), LXIII; Vázquez Santos, "La 'Translatio,'" 57-74; 62: on the removal of James preaching in Spain from the *Historia Compostellana* as a result of Archbishop Gelmírez's desire not to contest the primacy of Rome.

⁴⁷ Liere, "The Missionary and the Moorslayer," 522.

promoted freely in the heyday of the pilgrimage to Compostela, and the legend of James having preached in Spain was the first article of faith in “The Santiago Creed.”⁴⁸

Regardless of where James was believed to have evangelized, there can be no dispute that in the era of the Tera sculpture, he was understood to be a preacher in one of his primary roles, as emphasized in *Veneranda Dies* in reference to Santiago’s feast day: “Thus the blessed apostle was chosen this day so that he may tear the world from the devils’ jaws by his preaching.”⁴⁹

The earliest reference to James as a preacher comes from the *Breviarium Apostolorum*, a seventh-century catalogue of apostolic biographical sketches translated into Latin from Greek-Byzantine sources.⁵⁰ This breviary provides a listing of the apostles, including their mission areas, how they died and were buried, and so forth. In the *Breviarium*, James is described as a preacher in the western regions—and in Spain in particular—just before the text records his death and burial: “James, whose name means he who supplants, son of Zebedee, brother of John, preaches here in Spain and in the West. He was martyred by the sword under the reign of Herod and was buried in a marble sarcophagus the eighth day of the calends of August.”⁵¹ The *Breviarium* was known to

⁴⁸ T. D. Kendrick, *St James in Spain* (London: Methuen & Co, 1960), 13, 16.

⁴⁹ Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., *The Miracles of Saint James*, 11; Latin text: Herbers and Santos Noia, ed., *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 86: “Itaque beatus apostolus electus est hac die, ut mundum sua predicatione de diabolicis faucibus eripiat.”

⁵⁰ Jan van Herwaarden, “The Origins of the Cult of St James of Compostela,” in Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 311-54; Robert Plötz, “*Peregrinatio ad Limina Sancti Jacobi*,” in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, ed. John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen, Germany: Gunter Narr Press, 1992), 37-49; cf. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, “Die spanische Jakobus-Legende bei Isidor von Seville,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1958): 467-472; R. Fletcher, *St. James’s Catapult*, 53-77: “The Early History of the Cult of St. James.”

⁵¹ My translation; Latin text: “Iacobus qui interpretatur subplantator, filius Zebedaei, frater Ioannis, hic Spaniae et occidentalia loca praedicat et sub Herode gladio caesus occubuit sepultusque est en Achaia Marmarica. VIII Kal. Augustas.”

writers such as Julian of Toledo (d. 690) and Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 709) and began to circulate among Christian writers and in the liturgy starting at the beginning of the eighth century.

In the eight-century interpolation, probably of Irish origin, in *De ortu et obitu patrum*, which is dubiously attributed to Isidore of Seville (d. 636), it is mentioned that James has preached in Spain and other western regions.⁵² The *De ortu* treatise also contains a litany of the missionary regions of Christ's disciples, assigning Spain to James.⁵³ In the same period, Beatus of Liébana wrote in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* an analogous passage wherein James is assigned Spain in a list of areas where the apostles were designated to preach.⁵⁴ In the Gerona manuscript (c. 975) of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Beatus depicts James alongside the other apostles with a caption listing Spain as this saint's area.⁵⁵ By the same token, the late eighth-century hymn from the mozarabic psalter known as "O dei verbum, patris ore proditum" names Spain as James's missionary area when ascribing Asia to his brother John.⁵⁶

⁵² "Spaniae et occidentalium locorum evangelium praedecavit"; On the special relationship between the *Breviarium* and *De ortu*: B. de Gaiffier, "Le *Breviarium Apostolorum* (BHL 652). Tradition manuscrite et oeuvres apparentées," *Analecta Bollandiana* 81 (1963): 89-116; cf. M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Estudios sobre la antigua literatura relacionada con Santiago el Mayor," *Compostellanum* 11 (1966): 621-652; 644: the suggestion on the Irish origin of that interpolation.

⁵³ "Iacobus Spania"; For a detailed analysis of the connection between the *Breviarium* and two versions of the *De ortu*, see B. de Gauffier, "Le *Breviarium Apostolorum*," 104-113.

⁵⁴ "Iacobus Hispaniam."

⁵⁵ "Iacobus Spania"; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 56, with reference to the facsimile *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin, Codex Gerundensis*, ed. Jaime Marqués Casanovas, César E. Dubler, Wilhelm Neuss (Lausanne, Switzerland: Urs Graf, 1962), fols. 52v-53r. See also Beatus of Liébana, *Beati in Apocalipsin: Libri Duodecim*, ed. Henry A. Sanders (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1930), 116.

⁵⁶ "Regens Ioannes dextra solus Asia / Eiusque frater potitus Ispania"; Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 320-333; for the text: Herwaarden, "The Origins of the Cult of St. James of Compostela," *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980): 1-35; 30-32 (not in *Between Saint James and Erasmus*). See also Díaz y Díaz, "Los himnos en honor de Santiago," 240, stanza 5, ll. 24-25.

This tradition persists outside the liturgical repertoire in the twelfth-century pilgrimage song *Dum pater familias* from the fifth book of the *Book of Saint James*, which says that God assigned James to preach to the inhabitants of Spain: “When God the Father, King of the world, apportioned his provinces among the apostles, He assigned James to show the light to Spain.”⁵⁷ This notion of James having evangelized in Spain continued through the thirteenth century in one of the best known works of the Christian medieval period, archbishop Jacobus de Voragine’s highly popular *The Golden Legend*. From the entry on James the Greater: “James the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, after Our Lord’s Ascension first preached in Judea and Samaria, then went to Spain to sow the word of God.”⁵⁸ The proposition that James had preached in Spain during his lifetime was a pervasive presence in the Hispanic liturgy and Roman church from the seventh century through the rise of the great age of pilgrimages in the twelfth century.

In line with this textual tradition, iconographic details in the statue of James in Santa Marta de Tera—i.e., the saint’s mouth being open to convey the speech act, together with his left hand being raised in a gesture of both annunciation and aversion—show James to be preaching a warning against the ways of the devil and the many dangers along the pilgrimage road. Santiago’s left hand is oversized to emphasize his speaking role, and his cuffs draw attention to this enlarged hand. At the same time, the

⁵⁷ Herbers and Santos Noia, ed., *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 269: “Dum pater familias rex universorum donaret provincias ius apostolorum Jacobus yspanias / lux illustrat morum”; another hymn in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* remarks upon James’s preaching in Spain, as well, noting that he brought Spain’s pagans to a knowledge of Christ: “decoravit Yspaniam / Iacobus et Galleciam. / Illamque gentem impiam / Cristi fecit / ecclesiam”; Herbers and Santos Noia, ed., *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 265, cf. 154: Magister Gauterius de Castello Rainardi decantum fecit.

⁵⁸ Ryan and Ripperger note in the introduction to their translation of *The Golden Legend* that there are over 500 extant manuscript copies of this text and that this volume was edited and translated over 150 times within the first century of its printing: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Longmans, Green, 1948), vii; 369.

scallop shell on the pilgrim's pouch perhaps additionally is meant to show James as a traveler far from his home in Palestine during the days of his mission, or apostolate in Spain. Inasmuch as his pilgrim's attributes overlap with those of his preaching role, the Tera sculpture is an illustrative example of the Saint James pilgrim icon as described in the *Book of Saint James* and also of the preacher he is repeatedly portrayed to be in the same book.

Other images of James in his apostolic role of preacher also are congruous with this textual record. For instance, the aforementioned figure of Santiago in the Cámara Santa of Oviedo inserts the lower end of the cruciform-handled-staff, or crozier, into the mouth of the snake this saint treads upon. Meanwhile, the relief of James in the Miègeville portal in Toulouse is shown trampling serpents underfoot. Both of these actions are symbolic of stamping out paganism, a principal role of the apostles of Christ. These figurative representations of killing off evil have the same connotation as the gesture of warning and preaching against mortal peril in the statue of Santiago in Santa Marta de Tera. The preacher who wars against wickedness is not so different from the pilgrim who engages in the struggle against hardship.

History of Tera and the Figure of Santiago

Pilgrims traveled to Tera for the fame of the church built in honor of Saint Martha, a third-century Asturian martyr whose remains were moved from Astorga to her eponymous monastery and village.⁵⁹ By 1115, there is word of poor pilgrims staying in the monastic lodgings that used to exist in Santa Marta de Tera (probably a double

⁵⁹ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 37-38.

monastery, housing both monks and nuns), where testimony from around the same time attests to the cults of Santa Marta, Santiago, and other saints in this church. In a document from 1129, Alfonso VII bears witness to the numerous miracles of Saint Martha:

In the church of his blessed virgin and martyr Martha, the Lord returns sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, the ability to walk to the lame; He cures the armless, heals the sick, cleans the leprous, expels demons from the bodies of the possessed; even manacled prisoners find themselves free wherever they may be found.⁶⁰

The document additionally describes how Alfonso VII was influenced by word of the miraculously curative powers of the relics of Saint Martha, but there is no evidence to support that this king undertook a pilgrimage to Santa Marta de Tera, as has been suggested.⁶¹ Despite the lack of historical evidence of any journey by Alfonso VII to Santa Marta, the text along with the magnificence of the structure nonetheless indicate that this shrine possessed an elevated prestige and drew numerous followers devoted to Saint Martha of Astorga. In fact, Santa Marta de Tera, in its heyday, has been described as another Lourdes.⁶²

The western entrance of Santa Marta de Tera now is not as it once was in that a flat belfry added in the modern era has been removed since. In his description of the view

⁶⁰ Augusto Quintana Prieto, *Santa Marta de Tera* (Zamora, Spain: Fundación Ramos de Castro para el Estudio y Promoción del Hombre, 1991), 204: “quas Deus fecit necnon et facit per virginem et martyrem suam beatissimam Martham quod in ecclesia sua reddit dominus caecis visum, surdis auditum, claudicantibus gressum, mancos curat, infirmos sanat, leprosos mundat, daemones ab oppressis corporibus fugat, et etiam ligatos a vinculis ferreis ubicumque fierint ligati liberat.”

⁶¹ Puente, *La iglesia románica*, 18; cf. Quintana Prieto, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 84-85.

⁶² Puente, *La iglesia románica*, 19, 26: Tera-Lourdes; Quintana Prieto, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 85; Gerardo Pastor Olmedo, “Zamora y sus vínculos con Santiago,” in *Santiago en toda España* (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1972), 376.

of the river valley of Tera together with the now-grey-then-golden-in-the-sunlight sandstone, Gómez Moreno writes that the church is lovely except for this particular element: “Only an open belfry wall, and even more so its hideous staircase, befoul the complex.” He describes three statues of apostles crowning the flat belfry that are of significant size and importance.⁶³ These are James the Greater, the minor apostle Judas Thaddeus, and an unidentified apostle, possibly Peter. The lower third of each of these sculptures is severely damaged, probably due to exposure to the elements in this prior location. The lower third of the Santiago statue has since broken off. The figures originally would have measured a meter and a half in their complete form.⁶⁴

We do not know either the original location of this figure of Santiago in the church of Santa Marta de Tera or how the sculpture was configured alongside other works. The statue was perched atop the roof of the open belfry wall until 1931, when Santa Marta de Tera was declared a Spanish National Heritage monument.⁶⁵ Following this designation, the figures were moved to their current location during the renovations that Alejandro Ferrant conducted,⁶⁶ with the James statue placed in the niche on the left-hand side of the south portal entrance and the unidentified saint on the other side of this entrance.

⁶³ M. Gómez Moreno, “Santa Marta de Tera,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* (1908): 84: “Solamente una espadaña, y más aún su groserísima escalera, afean el conjunto,” 87. The *espadaña*, a “flat belfry” or “open belfry wall,” is a uniquely Spanish bell tower on the cheap; most are seventeenth- and eighteenth-century additions. Historically it is a native form that dates to the late Romanesque with the structural advantage of simply extending a load-bearing wall upward without needing a separate foundation. There’s a monumental and quite successful example at St. John’s Abbey in Minnesota, which is artfully called the “bell banner.”

⁶⁴ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 68.

⁶⁵ Puente, *La iglesia románica*, 27.

⁶⁶ Regueras Grande, *Santa Marta de Tera*, 16.

Art historians have speculated as to where the James figure at Tera was initially placed. Poza Yagüe notes that the preexistent niches where the statues now reside could have been their location before the construction of the open belfry wall.⁶⁷ Without being able to decipher the problem of the original location of the statues, Puente believes that the presence of the minor apostle Judas Thaddeus means that there originally were twelve statues of apostles that were made for this church and that only three remain.⁶⁸ Martín Benito *et al.* believe the extant statues were moved to their current locations to fit the niches on either side of the south portal entrance. Moreover, this configuration mirrors the pairing of Saints James and Peter in the Miègeville portal of Saint Sernin de Toulouse, as well as other pairs of saints in San Isidoro of León (Saints Isidore and Vincent in the Portal of the Lamb, and Saints Peter and Paul in the Portal of Pardon). If Ramos de Castro correctly identified the unspecified saint across from the figure of James in the south portal of Santa Marta de Tera as carrying a key that subsequently has broken off, then this saint would be Peter. In this case, the pairing of Peter with James would mesh with the Compostelan bishops' desire to establish the Cathedral of Compostela as an apostolic see (cf. the figure of the enthroned James in the Pórtico de la Gloria). Such a pairing between James and Peter perhaps would have been intended to denote an equivalent rank in the celestial hierarchy between these apostles.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Poza Yagüe, "Recuperando el pasado," 320-321.

⁶⁸ Puente, *La iglesia románica*, 53.

⁶⁹ Martín Benito *et al.*, *Los caminos de Santiago*, 45-46, 48. For the apostolicity of Compostela within the framework of Rome's Primacy, see for example Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 332-34 and 367-75; cf. Klaus Herbers, *Der Jakobuskult des 12. Jahrhunderts und der Liber Sancti Jacobi: Studien über das Verhältnis zwischen Religion und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter* (Franz Steiner Press: Wiesbaden, 1984); cf. Vázquez Santos, "La 'Translatio,'" 57-74, esp. 62, 67-68.

Function of Santiago at Tera

Whatever the original placement of the figure, the James statue at Tera functions as a spiritual signpost designed to encourage several types of viewers in their respective sacred journeys, whether physical or mystical. For the bishops visiting Zamora from the head Diocese in Astorga, they likely saw themselves in the Tera icon: if James was the first to evangelize Spain, these bishops were Santiago's torchbearers in their own generation. For the church canons, who may have commissioned the artist(s) that carved the sculpture, they perhaps saw a preacher devoted to the same spiritual struggle they were fighting, and even may have perceived a link between their moral battles and the material ones of the Christian knights against the Muslim "infidels" just to the south. For the monks and nuns cloistered in the double house that probably stood at Santa Marta de Tera during the creation of this sculpture, the admonitions contained in this saint's preaching and in the symbolism of his pilgrim attributes served as a reminder of the many seductions the devil placed along the *via penitentie* of their own inner journeys. For the pilgrims who traveled on, Santiago's gesture and message warned them of the temptations on the trail and additionally offered them religious guidance as they strode toward salvation. Even Christian knights from the south who vowed to journey to Santiago after a victory may have felt some commonality with the Tera sculpture.

James as a sermonizing pilgrim, in his role as a defender against vice and corruption along the roads to Santiago, complemented his representation as slayer of Moors. The pilgrim-preacher acted as a spiritual warrior, while the Moor-killer engaged

in literal battle. While the late twelfth-century James statue in Oviedo hints at the overlap between these manifestations in its depiction of the saint's staff slaying a serpent, a seventeenth-century statue in the hermitage of Santiago de Pueyo in Navarre makes this connection evident: this sculpture depicts the head of a turbaned Muslim instead of that of a serpent at the foot of the saint's pilgrim staff.⁷⁰ As distant as this full-blown pilgrim/Moor-slayer hybrid may seem from the statue of Santiago at Tera, it really is an offensive representation (perhaps in more than one sense) of the pilgrim-preacher's defensive posture against dogs and wolves, and against the devil himself.

Santiago's sinister hand in the Tera statue prepared viewers for the Second Coming of Christ, as many subsequently would witness sculpted in stone in Master Mateo's tympanum of the Pórtico de la Gloria. James the Greater's admonition guided the inner arc of their spiritual journeys along the narrow path of righteousness. The left hand of Santiago led viewers to the right hand of God.

⁷⁰ Carmen Jusué Simonena, *Santiago en Navarra: imagen, memoria y patrimonio* (Gobierno de Navarra: Pamplona, 2011), 244.

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